



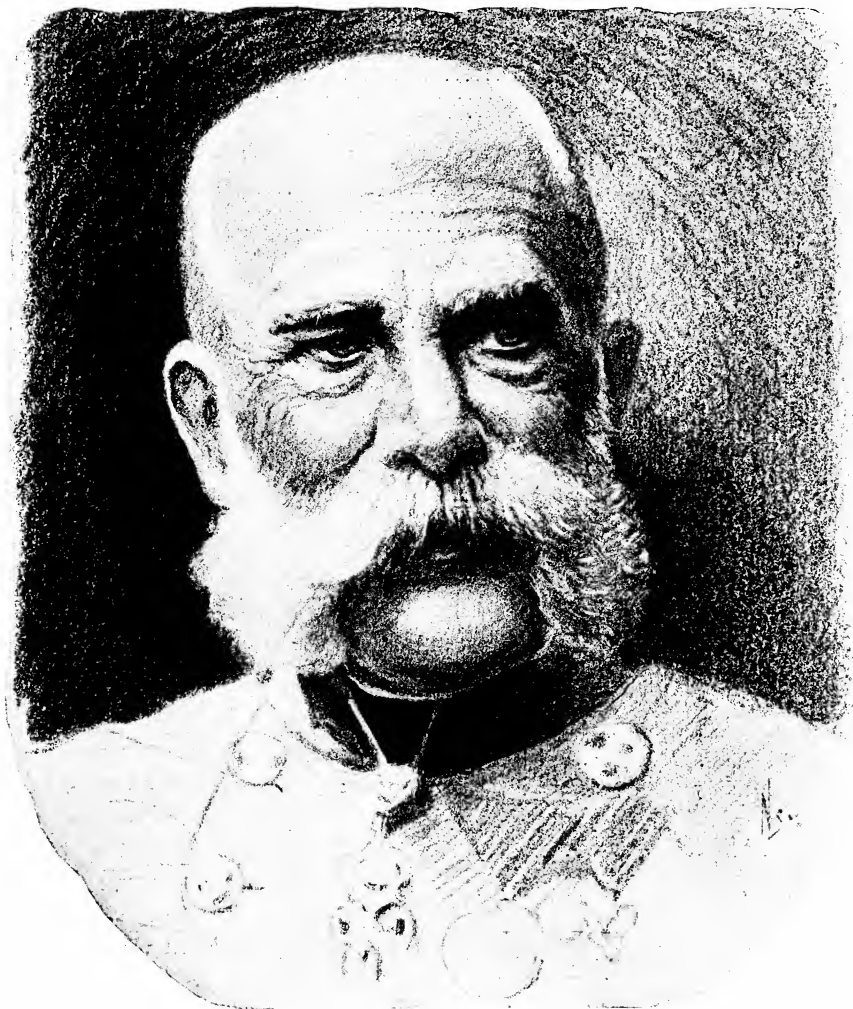
Vol. II, No. 2—Feb. 17th, 1915

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# THE Fatherland

A Weekly

(Title Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.)



EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH  
THE BEST BELOVED MAN IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

## WHO KILLS THE GERMANS?

By Dr. EDMUND VON MACH

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INCORPORATED 1857

**FIRE AND MARINE BUSINESS**

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Cash in Banks and Office .....	201,274.37
Agents' Balances in Course of Collection .....	144,719.18
Accrued Interest .....	18,866.62
<b>Total Assets .....</b>	<b>\$1,776,370.17</b>

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Reserve for Unearned Premiums .....	\$639,592.04
Reserve for Unpaid Losses .....	163,607.29
Reserve for all other Liabilities .....	34,400.00
<b>Surplus .....</b>	<b>\$ 938,770.84</b>

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# THE FATHERLAND

## Fair Play for Germany and Austria-Hungary

Edited by GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK and FREDERICK F. SCHRADER

VOL. II. No. 2

FEBRUARY 17, 1915

PRICE, 5 CENTS

## GERMANY CARRIES THE WAR TO ENGLAND'S COASTS

Some Remarks on the *Lusitania* Hauling Down the Union Jack and Hoisting the American Flag in Self-Protection

WHEN the English closed the North Sea to neutral traffic and announced that, as the waters had been mined and any merchant ship that disregarded the warning assumed full risk for the consequences, the Allied press of New York approved it as a perfectly legitimate measure of warfare.

But there was a change when the Germans retaliated by declaring the entire British coast and the north coast of France within the war zone, and warned neutral shipping of the dangers in those waters! Monsieur de Bennett's *Herald* denounced the Germans as pirates and demanded war on Germany, the Pulitzer *World* told the President that he must issue a formal protest, and the other papers had editorials in line with these amiable sentiments. But Washington evidently realized that as it did not protest against the mining of the North Sea by England, it had no ground to protest against the blockade of the English and French coasts. The English closed the North Sea without giving neutral ships time to get out of the danger zone, whereas Germany gave notice that it would not carry its policy into effect for two weeks.

Great Britain, proud mistress of the seas, is unable to protect her flag. Let us remember that Germany was moved to action only after English ships were sailing under false colors, that is, the flag of neutral nations, in order to escape the German submarines.

The pro-British press, assailing Germany with bitter spite worthy of the London *Times*, because of her proclamation placing the entire British coast in the area of her submarine activity, completely ignores the far more widely reaching order of the British Admiralty in closing the North Sea. This proclamation, printed in the London *Times* of November 3, 1914, is as follows:

"They (the British Admiralty) therefore give notice that the whole of the North Sea must be considered a military area. Within this area merchant shipping of all kinds, traders of all countries, fishing craft, and all other vessels will be exposed to the gravest dangers from mines which it has been necessary to lay, and from warships searching vigilantly by night and day for suspicious craft. All merchant and fishing vessels of every description are hereby warned of the dangers they encounter by entering

this area except in strict accordance with Admiralty directions. Every effort will be made to convey this warning to neutral countries and to vessels on the sea, but from the 5th of November onward the Admiralty announces that all ships passing a line drawn from the northern point of the Hebrides through the Faroe Islands to Iceland do so at their own peril."

The German proclamation extending the war zone around the English coast is a close copy of the English proclamation closing the North Sea, as printed above, and therefore exempts the Germans from the charge of introducing a new factor into the war, except that she intends to accomplish with submarines what England hoped to accomplish by mines.

On top of the excitement created by the German proclamation comes the *Lusitania* incident. The great English ocean greyhound, alarmed by a warning of the presence of German submarines, hauled down the Union Jack and hoisted the Stars and Stripes in order to profit by the protection vouchsafed by a neutral flag.

It is certain that but for the presence of American passengers aboard, this misuse of our colors would have been suppressed, as was the sinking of the *Audacious* and the *Lion*. Their presence was doubly fortunate, for it affords direct proof of the charge of the German Admiralty that English ships are sailing under false colors (by order of the English Admiralty), and that such abuse of neutral flags prompted the proclamation. The English apologists in this country attempt to justify this act by citing the fact that the German cruiser *Emden*, flew the Russian flag as she sailed into an enemy's port and destroyed a Russian cruiser and two French torpedo boats.

The distinction is one that must, or at least should, be known to those who assume to write with authority. The *Emden* was not flying a neutral flag, but the flag of a belligerent with whom she was at war, and hence no violation of neutrality was involved in her action, a ruse of war authorized by international law.

The attempt to mitigate the offense of raising the Stars and Stripes over the *Lusitania* by the explanation of her captain that he was prompted to do so because he had "neutral passengers and mail" aboard his ship, is wholly untenable. If this explanation is accepted as valid, the German ships interned in our harbors can take

aboard neutral passengers and mail, and hoisting the American flag beyond the three-mile neutral coast line, defy the British cruisers, and estop them from arresting their voyage to Germany.

Reduced to its smallest terms, the action of the *Lusitania*, when she pulled down the Union Jack, proclaimed to the whole world that England's claim to rule the seas is no longer a claim to be successfully defended in the high court of nations, and that the German navy is strong enough to enforce what amounts to an effective blockade against the English coast. It is the most bitter humiliation that England has sustained in a century.

The American government has no ground of protest against the German proclamation. No American is obliged to take passage on an English or French vessel. He has the alternative of using a neutral ship to go to Europe. Germany has a plain right to torpedo any vessel loaded with arms and munitions of war, or with food-stuffs intended for the troops of her enemies; and every vessel that leaves our ports for England, even though carrying passengers, is known to carry contraband of war subject to attack and destruction. If our government does not protest against the abuse of our flag, it forfeits the right to protest in case an American vessel, which enters the danger zone after February 18, should meet with disaster at the hands of a submarine. Regarding the right of the Germans to destroy merchant ships, the *New York Journal of Commerce* has this to say:

"The opinion that submarines will not attack British merchant steamships without affording the crews an opportunity to escape is ridiculed by some underwriters, who claim that Germany has the right to treat merchant vessels carrying war supplies and their crews in the same manner that a hostile cruiser or transport would be treated—that is, by 'sinking them without warning of any nature whatever.' Replying to the contention that the Hague Convention binds Germany to respect the rights of non-combatants, it is asserted that crews of steamers carrying cargoes destined for the British army are combatants, in that they are assisting in the carrying out of warfare. As to passengers on British steamers, it is asserted that travelers on British steamers accept the 'risk of war' by using such steamers when passage can be obtained on neutral vessels."

Should our Government, under the pressure brought to bear upon the Administration by the pro-British press, condone the offense of the *Lusitania*, there will be those who will ask whether the American flag protects English ships but not American citizens with German names, viz.: "Americans are being imprisoned, although carrying passports, and neutral ships are being captured avowedly to break up American trade with Holland."—*New York World*, October 15. Viz.: "Great Britain has assumed the right to arrest American passengers whose names or physical appearance impress the examining officers as of Teutonic caste. American passports avail nothing."—*Associated Press dispatch dated London, October 14, 1914.*

## SEPARATE PEACE WITH RUSSIA

By Louis Viereck, Berlin

WAR times always bring so-called Tartar news, the wildest rumors whose origin it is quite impossible to trace. Such a wide-spread rumor is to the effect that Germany means to make separate peace with Russia, and perhaps even treacherously to desert her allies as long as she can obtain favorable conditions for herself. Yet, such a turn of events is simply impossible, even for internal reasons, and does not deserve the slightest credence.

At the beginning of 1915, Russia had practically lost the campaign, her crushing defeat being imminent. Step by step her armies have been repulsed in Western Poland towards the Vistula where, with the river at their back, their outlook is gloomy, similar to that which Field Marshal Hindenburg had given them on the Mazur Lakes. The Russian losses are fearful, about two million men, and more than half a million have been taken prisoners! They have a terrible lack of officers. A Russian field-post letter that has been recently intercepted says that in some regiments instead of sixty only six regular officers are in active service! This explains the subjoined Sofia statement sent to the *Cologne Gazette*:

"Russian reports assure us that Russia has a great lack of officers, and that 11,000 students who, after a superficial military training have been appointed ensigns, are entrusted with full battalions. These young men are said to be stirred up by the revolutionary party whose chief leaders have joined the army under false names. In case of a decisive defeat a great success of the revolutionary endeavors is expected."

The above report shows that the "Russian steam-roller" instead of carrying out orders and mowing down Austria-Hungary and Germany's Eastern Provinces, with the object of hurrying on to Berlin and Vienna, has altogether failed, and is itself in

a highly critical condition. The German assailer fights the possession of Warsaw, but unfavorable weather and the absence of military roads delay the decisive battle. At its conclusion, unless a miracle happens in the meantime, the Russians will only have disabled armies!

Under these circumstances we cannot think of any other peace with Russia but such as throws the Muscovite invader back to Asia, his proper sphere of action. Paul Rohrbach has very clearly formulated the above thought as the indispensable object of this or the next war. In his remarkable periodical *Greater Germany*, Rohrbach says: "There is only one way permanently to hold the Russian danger at bay. The Russian Colossus must be broken up into its neutral components, historical as well as ethnological. Such component parts are Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Lithuania, Poland, Bessarabia, the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and Turkestan. What remains is Great Russia or Muscovy and Siberia, the most western part of which is only an extension of Muscovy. Internally and externally Great Russia and Siberia belong together and have an outlet to the sea through the Finnish Gulf and the Northern Dvina."

Let it not be said that it is premature to divide the booty before the war is finished. The Russian peril does not only threaten Germany and Austria-Hungary, but the civilization of the whole world is in grave danger. If after the war the Cossack Colossus holds in the East, even approximately its present gigantic dimensions it will not be peace, but only an armistice for Western and Central Europe, and hundreds of thousands of promising young lives will have been slaughtered in vain. As long as Russia rules the Black Sea and can maintain her place as a Great Power on the Baltic shores, there will be no lasting peace such as safeguards Germany's future.



## BISMARCK'S GREAT POLICY

By Frank Koester, Consulting Engineer

Author of "Modern City Planning and Maintenance," "Hydroelectric Developments and Engineering," "The Price of Inefficiency," Etc.

*(In America we think of Bismarck always as the man of "iron and blood." This tradition has grown until the real man is obscured in a cloud of falsehood and ignorance. Bismarck was the first progressive. Many of the great social reforms which Theodore Roosevelt and his party have advocated so strenuously in this country had their birth in the brain of the Iron Chancellor. It was Bismarck who abolished poverty in the German Empire, eliminated the slums, created security for the humblest as well as for the highest, made education really universal and prosperity a thing for the many and not for the few. Old age pensions, insurance for workmen, compensation laws for workers, etc., which to-day are arousing so much discussion in England and America were an actuality in the Germany of Bismarck thirty years ago. The remarkable social policy of Bismarck, continued and expanded by William the Second (who is even a greater progressive than Bismarck was), has made modern Germany unique among the nations of the world. Mr. Frank Koester in the following article makes an acute study of Bismarck's great social philosophy and its influence upon the Germany of to-day. In next week's issue Mr. Koester will discuss Competition and the Credit System in Germany.)*

WHEN Bismarck welded the German kingdoms, provinces, duchies and states into the German Empire, he did his work not so much for military purposes, as has seemed the spectacular fact, as for the purpose of peace; he forged rather the plowshare than the sword, and the underlying and fundamental principle of his policy was the perpetuation of Frederick the Great's cardinal maxim, "I am the king of the poor."

This principle, however, is in reality the guiding principle of American institutions, a government of the people, by the people, for the people. In Prussia's case it was merely set in the frame of royal prerogative, yet in that setting it proved just as potent as in the republican setting, if not more so, in practical results for the people, since Frederick and later Bismarck were able through the influence of their personalities and positions to impress it more upon the institutions of the nation than were the executives of the American republic. For us it remains to a certain extent a theory, for Germany it is vital reality.

### Real Progressivism

The duty of the state towards its citizens is more fully realized and carried out by the German state than by any other of the sovereign powers. The theory has been carried out in practice; and Bismarck in expressing the duty of the state, in putting into operation Frederick's maxim, did so in a concrete manner, in the form of a doctrine of the right to work.

His policy in his own words was: "Give the workingman work as long as he is healthy, assure him care when he is sick, insure him maintenance when he is old. Was not the right to work openly proclaimed at the time of the publication of the common law? Is it not established in all our social arrangements that the man who comes before his fellow citizens and says, 'I am healthy, I desire to work but I can find no work,' is entitled to say also, 'Give me work,' and that the state is bound to give him work?"

To opponents who asserted that such a policy would involve the state in large public works Bismarck replied, "Of course, let them be undertaken, why not? It is the state's duty."

Bismarck's policy outlined in 1884 met with the approval of the Empire and it has since been followed not only without deviation but with increasing ardency.

The present emperor, William II, further elaborated the policy, and he issued a decree in 1890 in which the principles are laid down that the sphere of the government extends to the regulation of the period, duration and kind of work in order to maintain health and morals, satisfy economical wants and claims to equality in law, and that the workingman has a right to participate in the regulation of matters concerning himself, equally with the employer and state.

### Bismarck's Theory of the State

Bismarck's proposals were in a sense static; the government was to be prepared to do certain things when the worker demanded it; but William advanced the conception to the point which requires the state to anticipate such demands, to act in

the interests of the worker positively and in advance, and thus prevent and obviate the conditions of which he might justly complain.

The spirit of initiative thus exhibited by the German government is one of the great factors in Germany's success.

The German people, expressing themselves through their administrative machinery, have created a system which has the force of a vast, vital personality.

The most obscure citizen has the feeling that in his extremity if he comes to it, he will not look in vain to his nation; that if he is sinking for the third time, he will not go down clutching the straw of a classic theory, but will be succored by the practical hand of a great people.

And in this belief he will not be disappointed, and neither will his necessities anticipate the thought and preparedness of the government; for every eventuality, consideration has been taken and preventatives erected.

### Security for All

The government, from the cradle to the grave, takes account of every citizen; it offers him the degree of education which is suited to his station and his capabilities, and it sees that he takes advantage of the opportunities. It sees that as a child he is not employed except at certain ages, and when he is employed that it is only for certain hours of the day, it sees that he has sufficient free time for normal living and proper schooling, and when he has a trade or other occupation, it provides an enormous system of co-operative employment bureaus, over 700 in number throughout the Empire, under government supervision, for bringing the workman and his work together.

By this great expedient the state so reduces the possibility of the worker applying to it directly for work that only a very small proportion of the unemployed need ever make such application, and the necessity for large governmental works to give employment has never arisen.

The government has come to realize, as does no other government, that under modern conditions the fact that a man is out of work is often due to causes over which he has himself absolutely no control.

It, therefore, makes every effort to control such causes itself and does not hesitate to interfere in the contractual relations of employer and employee in order to forestall the unemployment of the employee. It requires certain notice to be given of discharge and insures that it shall not be for trivial grounds.

### How Germany Takes Care of Her Workers

The government looks most minutely into the conditions under which work is performed and sees that a proper working place is provided, protecting the life, health and morals of the workers; it regulates where deemed advisable the hours of labor, and the observation of holidays; it regulates the employment of minors and women; it enforces fair dealing between employer and employee in every way, and as has been noted protects the minor

employee in his opportunities for education, and settles disputes proceeding in its industrial courts.

The United States is the "land of the free," but Germany is the land of the industrial court, which dispenses justice for the poor man in more than 60 per cent. of the cases within a day's time, the majority of the rest within a week and the whole calendar within two weeks. There are 350 of these courts and they handle 100,000 cases a year at slight expense to the disputants, besides disseminating a knowledge of law which tends to greatly lessen their work. They are devoted particularly to the cases between employees and employers.

Outside of their scope, however, the government provides legal advice bureaus and legal services free or at nominal cost so that in any court the workman may obtain justice quickly and inexpensively.

The influence of the government is felt in numerous and complex regulations, the enforcement of which is in the hand of a large body of inspectors and none of which are dead letters.

The fairness of the regulations is unquestioned and large concerns even go beyond the letter of the law and seek in their relations to their employees to gain their good will by a more liberal policy than that which the government is prepared to enforce if need be.

The effect of the system is to inspire the worker with a sense of loyalty to the organization of which he is a member, which is quite unknown in other countries, particularly in the United States and England.

The German workman expects to remain indefinitely with his concern and hopes to make his way in the world by rising to responsible positions in it. The average American workman is never free from the idea that his job is a temporary one and that if he is to advance materially it must be under other surroundings. Thus American industries are crippled at the outset and esprit de corps is largely dormant, if not entirely lacking.

### The "Unemployed" Question Solved

In Germany, as a result of her bureaus of employment and the generally more secure tenure of employment of the employed, during a series of seven years ending 1910, the total unemployment varied from a little over one to a little less than three per cent., while during the same period in the United States, based on averages from statistics in certain States, the unemployment varied from 6 to 28 per cent.

That is to say, in the United States, roughly speaking, it takes a man from six to fourteen times as many days to find a job when he is out of work as it does in Germany. As the German average indicates a period of about ten days unemployment in the course of a year, the American figures would indicate from one to three months' idleness.

Since, however, a large proportion are employed continuously, the average idle time for those actually out of work is much greater.

It is not to be wondered at under such circumstances that emigration from Germany to this country is only about one-fifteenth of its former figures. The wonder is that there is any emigration from Germany. In Germany, one person in four is a wage-earner, in the United States the ratio is one to two and three-quarters. Thus a much larger number of persons, especially of women, must work here. In Germany the wage-earner retires ten years sooner than in America, where he usually drops in his tracks first.

When the vast totals of privation, discouragement, loss of health, hope and savings are considered as shown by the great percentages of unemployment in the United States even in the best times, the failure of the government to organize the exchange of labor and employments amounts to little less than a national crime. It is a sad legislative spectacle, that of continual struggles for mean and petty partisan advantages while the true interests of the public are neglected.

Germany, not content, however, with the highly effective results of the governmental policy, experiments are constantly being made looking towards the establishment of insurance against unemployment. Considerable progress has been made in this direction and it will undoubtedly prove a settled government policy of the future.

Some twenty cities have more or less complete systems in operation, the general principle being that the healthy workman who has had regular employment and who has contributed to the fund shall, in the event of loss of employment receive a certain stipulated amount as long as he remains out of work through no fault of his own.

The government employment bureaus afford such a complete method of locating employment that the risk of unemployment is comparatively small. Thus the amount the workman contributes is correspondingly small, and at slight expense he is accordingly insured against being out of work.

### Old Age Pensions in Germany

Without government organization, the chance of the working-man finding work would be much smaller and the risk would be so much greater that he could not afford to insure himself against unemployment. Thus it will be seen that one good system breeds another, whereas in countries like the United States and England, where there is little or no system, and the finding of employment is a haphazard proceeding, the establishment of a system of insurance against unemployment would be chimerical.

Having exerted its efforts in securing work for the workman and in keeping his employment endurable and healthful the German government does not in his age or extremity abandon its workman.

During his whole life he has been compelled to contribute to sick benefit and old age funds, to which his employer and government must also contribute, so that whatever the eventuality, it will already be found provided for.

### Social Insurance in Germany

Compensation and benefit insurance has been established in Germany since 1881 and has from time to time been extended.

The principal forms are:

- Sick insurance,
- Accident insurance,
- Invalid insurance,
- Invalidity and old age insurance,
- Maternity insurance,
- Widows and orphans insurance.

The operation of this form of insurance superseded claims for indemnity against private employers and substituted instead of a lump sum for accidental injuries, small payments made periodically.

The enormous extent of this form of insurance is but little realized in this country. In 1910 there were 5,700,000 cases of sickness in which insurance payments were made, 1,017,000 accident cases and 1,333,000 cases of invalid insurance. Since the beginning of the systems, the sickness cases have aggregated 92,582,000, the accidents 2,273,000 and the invalidity 5,060,000. The number insured against sickness in 1910 was 13,955,000, accident 24,154,000 and invalidity 15,660,000. The total compensation paid out to the insured in 1910 was \$180,000,000 and since the beginning of the system, 2,000 million dollars.

There is a reserve fund of over 500 million dollars which is invested in hospitals, sick and convalescent homes, dwellings for workmen, sanatoriums, and various other investments.

The importance of the system towers above even its financial aspects, for, on account of its partial administration by the workmen themselves and their contributions to it of a substantial part of the fund, though they have received nearly half a billion dollars in benefits more than the amounts they have contributed, the qualities of co-operation, social conciliation and management developed are of inestimable importance to the nation.

### Germany the Pauperless Land

The word pauper is unknown in Germany, the insurance systems having given the workmen by right the assistance which in other countries is extended as a charge against the public. This feeling of securing against the eventualities of the future is a powerful factor in the relations of the citizen to the state and to his employers, it makes life more livable for the poor man in Germany than it is in any other country.

The enormous benefits of the system have been so apparent that it has been adopted in other civilized countries and finally also in England and to some extent in certain States of the United States, though here still of doubtful possibility owing to the barricade of the Constitution. There is no doubt, however, that it will come finally to be adopted by all the States throughout the country. Had the example of Germany, however, been copied earlier, the vast advantage to workmen all over the world would now be a reality instead of a dim prospect of a dark future.

## MAURICE LEON, OF SYRIA, AGAIN

MR. MAURICE LEON, who is described by the New York *Herald* as of No. 60 Wall Street and "a recognized authority on international law," has written a letter to Henry D. Flood, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, demanding that steps be taken to cause Rep. Bartholdt to resign from that committee, and furnishing Mr. Flood with a list of names of American citizens (the editors of "The Fatherland" included), who, he alleges, belong to a lobby either financed or at least directed by the German Government or its agents.

It seems that Mr. Leon has had a conference with Mr. Flood, in which the latter expressed a desire to "consider any proof that any movement was on foot under direction of the emissaries of a foreign government to segregate a portion of our population and use its political power to compel adherence by our government to the wishes of that foreign government."

Whatever the motives of Mr. Leon may be, they are in part apparent from the data of his biography in "Who's Who in America." From this data it appears that Mr. Leon was born in Beirut, Syria, and immigrated to the United States in 1894. He is put down as "the legal adviser of the French Government; devised the method for the legal introduction of Am. stocks in France; originated the type of bearer certificates now in use for circulation of Am. shares in France; counsel in the listing of numerous Am. stocks on the Paris Bourse; Dir. Roger & Gallet, Gaulois Tire Corpn. Am. contributor to Paris *Figaro*."

So we have a line on this *agent provocateur* who presumes to stir up feeling against American citizens, many of whose ancestors were contemporaries of Benjamin Franklin and William Penn.

In the letter to Rep. Flood, which he had published in the Sunday edition of the *Herald* and *Sun* under glaring headlines, he leaves no doubt that all who are protesting against Bryan's pro-English neutrality and surrender to the influence of Downing Street, are members of a German lobby in the United States and that the German Government is conducting a vast campaign of some sort or other, for he says: "I am

unaware of any government other than the German Government being engaged in any attempt to organize any portion of our citizens for the purpose of controlling the conduct of our government."

Mr. Leon has obviously raked the country with a fine-tooth comb for the names of those whom he accuses of constituting the German lobby, but he has omitted some. For instance, he does not name Gov. Colquitt of Texas, Profs. Burgess, Sloane, Hall, Shepherd, Sanborn, Schevill, Chancellor McCracken, Capt. Emerson, James O'Donnell Bennett, Raymond E. Swing, William Bayard Hale, Dr. Walter S. McNeil, John L. Stoddard, Frank Harris, Dr. A. B. Faust, ex-Minister William C. Fox; Roy W. Howard, manager of the United Press; James T. J. Archibald and numerous others who have laid themselves open to suspicion by writing articles or giving utterance to opinions in favor of fair play for Germany and Austria-Hungary.

We will not go to great lengths in discussing the diatribe of this avowed agent of the French Government now, but we will say for his benefit as well as the benefit of Rep. Flood, that if there is a lobby in the United States working for fair play for Germany and her Austro-Hungarian ally it extends to millions of voters throughout the country. Also that this clumsy attempt of a recent emigrant from Syria, aided and abetted by certain New York papers, to throttle public sentiment in the United States in behalf of England, France and Russia will not succeed.

And if we are summoned as witnesses before a Congressional Committee at his instigation, we shall start a special agitation to have the inquiry extended so as to include Maurice Leon and the owners and editors of the New York daily papers, and the various authors of the pro-Allies propaganda throughout the United States, to determine the question whether there is an English and French lobby operating, and by whom and by what means its activity is inspired. And we shall insist that some pointed questions be asked and answered, and a searching inquiry made into transactions such as that, by which a certain New York daily newspaper came into possession of several hundred thousand dollars' worth of Marconi stock.



# MILITARY STRATEGY AND THE ENEMY'S INDUSTRY

By Dr. Hugo Schweitzer

**C**ITIES which are frequently mentioned in the war news contain a huge population which makes us realize how important they are for the trade and the industry of France. Lille, for instance, has over 200,000; Roubaix nearly 150,000; Tourcoing and Amiens about 100,000 inhabitants.

## Why France is so Rich

On considering specifically the manufactures of France, let us first take up her steel and iron production by which, in our era, the prosperity and commercial importance of a nation is generally gauged. We find that the north practically monopolizes this branch of the industries. Of 117 French blast furnaces operated in July, 1914, 87 are located in the war zone and only 30 in the rest of the country. While the former, of course, were shut down after the invasion of the Germans, many of the remaining 30 will by now have been forced to also close owing to lack of fuel, ore and labor, and it may be rightly assumed that the steel and iron industry of the country is well-nigh extinguished.

The chief iron ore deposits occur in the Meurthe-et-Moselle department in the basins of Nancy, Longwy and Briey, where the army of the German Crown Prince is operating. Here are found the greatest actual ore reserves—the minette ores—situated between Germany, France and Luxembourg—a deposit, which in its immensity, is comparable only to the resources of our Lake Superior region, the wealth of which has been the wonder of the age.

## The Germans Run French Industries

The greater part of these minette ores are located on French soil and produce 84 per cent. of the total iron output of France. To-day they are being used by the invaders, a special stock company consisting of the German steel and iron captains of industry having been formed for that purpose.

Enormous as is the revenue from these ores, its value is even surpassed by the richness of the coal fields located in Flemish France. There, around Roubaix, more than 60 per cent. of the coal of the country is obtained, and more than 100,000 workmen are engaged in the mines in this district.

Other mineral resources of the occupied territory are important zinc deposits at St. Amand (Nord department) and some small copper occurrences in the Ardennes and Pas-de-Calais departments. While the production of zinc amounts to about 44,000 tons, that of copper only reaches the insignificant figure of 7,600 tons; yet both industries are for the time being completely paralyzed.

The Meurthe-et-Moselle department has within its borders the largest deposits of rock salt and produces more than half of the table salt used in France. The discontinuance of these supplies will be heavily felt by the French consumers.

## The Textile Industries of France Paralyzed

Next to the iron and steel industries in commercial importance is the manufacture of textiles. Here, again, we note that the enemy occupies the very heart of the country where these necessities are produced. The woolen and cotton industry is carried on most extensively in the Nord department at Roubaix, Lille, Tourcoing, St. Quentin, Fournies and Amiens. Roubaix, the Manchester of France, is one of the industrial centres of the world. Practically everything in textiles, and all sorts of accessories are produced here. Large soap and chemical factories supply the material needed in dyeing, printing and finishing; and in immense shops the intricate machinery employed in spinning, weaving and printing operations is designed and constructed.

As far as the French are concerned, the arteries of this immense trade are cut for the present. It is said, however, that the

Germans have again started many of these works for the manufacture of clothing, etc., for their army.

Another district of importance for the woolen industry, is that around Sedan, where fine cloth, particularly black goods are made. In their rapid sweep towards Paris, the Germans slowed up sufficiently to collect the immense quantities of wool, cotton, etc., stored in these industrial districts in order to replenish the depleted stock of their own country, thus effectively counteracting the cutting off of their supply by the sea-power of England.

In the region between Epinal and Belfort, opposite the Alsatian textile centre of Mühlhausen and its vicinity, a great cotton industry has been developed since the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, which—although this territory has not been invaded—has practically ceased to exist owing to its proximity to the seat of the military operations.

Flax, hemp and jute are largely utilized in the manufacture of ropes and nets, and together with the weaving of linens, constitute a prominent industry in the Nord and Somme departments at Lille, Armentieres, Dunkirk and Amiens, while laces and guipures are made in the Pas-de-Calais department, mainly at Calais itself. At Valenciennes, however, the lace-making, formerly of such great importance, has been transferred to the bordering Belgian section.

Of other manufactures we might, perhaps, mention the glass works in the Nord department at Aniche and the famous table-glass factories at Baccarat, in the Meurthe-et-Moselle.

## The Destruction of French Industry

Thus if will be seen that owing to the occupancy of their frontier departments, the French can no longer mine coal, cannot produce iron and steel, cannot manufacture woollens and cotton goods—the industrial exhaustion of France appears almost complete.

Strange as it may seem and most unfortunate for France, this technically so important territory is also her granary.

In its diversity of agricultural production and fertility of soil, the occupied region is the very counterpart of Belgium with the difference, however, that it is twice as large and, therefore, twice as productive. The north grows all the cereals and raises most of the wheat—an enormous quantity, as France stands third among the world's producers in this commodity, being only surpassed by the United States and Russia. It ranks fifth in the manufacture of beet-sugar and one-quarter of the entire crop of sugar-beets is grown in the Aisne department, while all the sugar factories are located in the occupied region. Twenty-six per cent. of the annual production of alcohol is distilled in the Nord department.

## The German Soldiers Enjoy French Champagne

The border districts are the main fruit-growing areas where there has been developed a most rational cultivation unsurpassed by any land in the world. The occupied territory also excels in the growing of fodder roots, among them the Mangold Wurzel. Consequently the animal industries are in a high state of efficiency. The cattle, stall-fed with the waste products of the distilleries, the beet-sugar factories and the Colza oil works represent huge assets of the invaded region and now supply delicious morsels of strengthening food to the Germans. Within its confines are also the vineyards of the champagne which furnish the particular brand of "grapejuice" so much appreciated as a table beverage by the German soldiers. Here are also the wonderful forests of the Argonne and the Ardennes.

To illustrate the prosperity of northern France, we may be allowed to quote from a report of a correspondent of the Associated Press, published in the *New York Times* of December 12, 1914, as follows:

"One striking impression of the trip was the sight of unthreshed grain, stretching for miles in every direction throughout this granary of Northern France. Over a hundred German threshing machines of the largest size are working in the region. These harvest batteries are doing work quite as important as that of the 42-centimeter cannon. The army is not only living on the supplies of flour and meat derived from this section of the country, but is actually sending wheat and flour back to Germany.

"The Germans are preparing for an extended occupation. The French peasants, under the supervision and to a certain extent the mild compulsion of the Germans, have planted winter crops and are working in the fields. Important bridges, destroyed during the occupation operations, are being rebuilt with steel from Germany. The roads are being maintained as usual by French labor and in some cases factories are being reopened."

Surely, the invading German army, by occupying the border departments, has most effectively paralyzed the nerve-centres of industrial and agricultural France and has dealt the most vital blow at France's capacity for continued resistance.

### How Russian Business Enterprises Suffer

If, now, we consider the fate of the mammoth Russian Empire, it must be conceded that the Germans have actually succeeded in crippling the industrial enterprises of this country. Russia, with a territory larger than the combined area of the United States, with Alaska, Canada, Mexico and Central America, Cuba, Porto Rico, Haiti and the other islands of the Caribbean, is an agricultural country. Its industries are mainly located in Poland and these, especially in the region of Lodz and Czenstochowa, are in the possession of the Teutonic allies. Outside of this district, only such factories are operated throughout Russia as are connected with agricultural pursuits, such as soap, leather, shoes, etc.

In Southern Poland, adjoining Upper Silesia, are most important deposits of iron ore surpassed only by those in the Ural and Central Russia.

The coal fields of Poland yield 40 per cent. of the total Russian output. The balance of the coal resources is so remote from the seat of war, and the railroad system of the country is so poorly developed, that the occupation of that part of Poland by the enemy must greatly hamper the military operations. It will be a most serious problem for the Russians to procure coal for running their railroads.

Lodz is a city of over 400,000 inhabitants and is the most important industrial centre of Russia and one of the busiest cities of the world. It has numerous textile and other factories, as well as large flour mills and breweries.

*The above paper concludes Dr. Schweitzer's series of articles dealing with the commercial phases of the war.*

## GERMAN INSURANCE COMPANIES

THE Annual Statements of the insurance companies have just been published and of particular interest are the reports of the four German companies from the old Fatherland transacting business in this country. The Aachen & Munich of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Hamburg-Bremen Fire Insurance of Hamburg, the Prussian National of Stettin and the Nord-Deutsche Insurance Company of Hamburg, all operating in the United States, show very favorable results during the past year and have abundant funds for the protection of the American policyholders. It has time and again been officially stated by the Superintendent of the Insurance Department of the State of New York that these branches of foreign companies are to all intent and purposes American companies, amply protected by funds in the hands of American trustees and designed to protect American risks. Before a foreign company can do business in this country it must deposit sufficient funds to firmly establish the branch as an American company. The securities in which the company must invest are defined by a statute, and are of such a character that they can be readily converted into cash in an emergency. The company must not only keep its deposit capital intact, but it must also be in possession of an adequate surplus, and its American funds cannot be withdrawn as long as it has a risk upon its books.

A great variety of factories also exists around Warsaw, Lublin and Czenstochowa, cities situated near the seat of war, where all manufacturing operations have been abandoned.

The visit which the German army paid to Lodz on its first march toward Warsaw has also resulted in the seizure of large quantities of raw material, such as cotton, wool, etc., which have been welcome additions to their stores of war supplies.

### The German Policy of Crippling Her Enemies

It would almost seem that in this campaign the German strategists had such visits in mind, and that their operations were primarily for the purpose of destroying or controlling railroads and industrial centres, rather than the capture of capital cities, such as Paris or Warsaw.

This impression seems to be confirmed by the operation of the Turkish ally of the Teutons. The Turks are marching directly towards Batoum, which they are said to be besieging. Batoum is the most important harbor of the Black Sea and is connected by rail and pipe lines with Baku, which is the centre of the immense Russian petroleum industry. The taking of Batoum will deliver into the hands of the Turks the railroad to Baku, the control of the latter city and of the petroleum fields. But the occupancy of Batoum alone would totally destroy the petroleum industry of Russia, which represents such an intrinsic asset in her industrial wealth.

In conclusion, it cannot be denied that the industrial position of the Allies is very unfavorable: Belgium in complete control of the Germans; the most important industrial district of France held by them in impregnable intrenchments and industries in the unoccupied regions crippled by lack of working men who are serving in the army; Russia cut off from all supplies, especially ammunition and coal, suffering from last year's bad crop and loss of revenue from the abolition of the vodka monopoly; Servia completely exhausted after a continuous campaign of about three years and unable to supply the necessities of life to her soldiers and people; England harassed by the woes of her unemployed, especially in the textile trade and in the coal mines!

"Business as usual" seems to have received a serious setback by the strategy of Germany, aiming at "dealing a vital blow at the enemy's capacity for continued resistance," while profitably utilizing the resources of the territories she has seized and drawing her supplies of food, clothing and ammunition from the occupied region, thus waging war at the enemy's expense.

The above-named German companies have always honorably met their obligations, and that they have the full support and confidence of American citizens is shown by an increase in their premium receipts. They are old and reliable institutions deservedly in high repute for prompt and liberal loss settlements and are rapidly acquiring a valuable business in this country. The Nord-Deutsche Insurance Company has made a particularly excellent showing with a surplus to American policyholders of \$938,770.84, which is \$79,002 more than a year ago, and total assets of \$1,776,370.17, a gain of \$336,970.64. This is a world-known insurance concern and on its Board of Directors are many prominent Hamburg merchants, also Albert Ballin, Chairman of the Board of Managers of the Hamburg-American Line, and Ernst Bassermann, the well-known National Liberal Leader in the Reichstag. The other three German companies mentioned are principally engaged in the transaction of fire business, while the Nord-Deutsche of Hamburg is doing not only fire and automobile business through its United States manager, J. H. Lenehan, 123 William Street, Paul Wolf, U. S. Branch Secretary, but also an important marine business through F. Herrmann & Co., Marine Managers, 37-43 Wall Street.

# THE FATHERLAND

## Fair Play for Germany and Austria-Hungary

Edited by  
GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK  
FREDERICK F. SCHRADER

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### NO DOUBLE CITIZENSHIP FOR GERMAN-AMERICANS

By Dr. Bernhard Dernburg

**I**N the new law of acquiring German citizenship that went into effect January 1, 1913, it is provided among other things that under certain circumstances German citizens are allowed to retain their German allegiance, even when acquiring citizenship of a foreign state. This is made contingent upon receiving a special permission from the Chancellor, who is to be guided by the recommendation of the German consular authorities. This provision is inserted for the purpose of ascertaining whether there would be, in case permission was granted, a conflict of duties between the German citizenship and foreign citizenship. Such permission will not be granted where a conflict of duties arises. The United States demanding an oath of allegiance and abjuration, such permission is out of question. No German Consul ever recommended it and there is no American citizen existing who retains German citizenship.

### EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH

**I**T will soon be 67 years since the aged ruler of Austria-Hungary ascended the throne. At that time he was 18 years of age. From the commencement of his life he devoted himself entirely to the grave affairs of state. Francis Joseph is the Nestor among the crowned heads of Europe, yet his conceptions are altogether modern, he has known how to adapt his chivalrous sentiments, relics of a by-gone time, to present needs. The different peoples of the Dual Monarchy are loyally attached to their Emperor and King. This is the explanation of that devotion: Historical ties have been woven between them and the house of Hapsburg for 700 years, and every Austrian and Hungarian enthusiastically admires the Emperor's keen sense of duty towards, and fatherly love, for all his

subjects. Even those who were mixed up with the inner political strife of the Empire during the sixty-seven years could not help feeling attracted by Francis Joseph's winning personality.

Francis Joseph initiated that liberal policy which is to safeguard to each people of the Dual Monarchy its own national development. At the same time he introduced perfect religious liberty. Moreover, universal suffrage has been granted to all his subject-peoples during his reign. A pronounced democratic spirit pervades the whole administration of his realm.

The granting of universal suffrage to which we have referred is really unique in the history of the world's constitutions. Unlike other rulers, Francis Joseph has, as it were, taken the lead in the suffrage movement. He has exercised his personal influence in favor of this democratic measure, and has persuaded the conservative circles to accept the suffrage bill. Universal suffrage was a present from the Monarch, and for this his peoples will be eternally grateful to him.

Special attention was paid to public education under Kaiser Francis Joseph. Schools and universities were considerably increased, and with regard to national needs instruction was given in the various languages current in the country.

The Kaiser's governments were also highly successful in furthering railway communications, trade and commerce, agriculture and forestry. The railway net which partly covers very mountainous tracts was enlarged and perfected, and a promising merchant marine developed at the same time.

The Kaiser's military principle has always been to restrict the offensive burden of modern armaments to an indispensable minimum. Himself a bulwark of peace, he was content to create and preserve an army which exclusively served defensive purposes.

It is hardly to be expected that the aged monarch will live to see the full success of his beneficial reign. Yet he has already seen unmistakable signs of a reconciliation taking place amongst all his peoples, a voluntary reconciliation due to the recognition of their true interests. In the course of the war enforced on him he has had the grand satisfaction to see all peoples of the Dual Monarchy act with united strength (*irribus unitis*), which is the Kaiser's devise.

We must not close this short account without referring to the severe trials which Francis Joseph had to bear, and bore in Christian humility. His brother Maximilian, Kaiser of Mexico, was shot in 1867; his only son, Crown Prince Rudolf, died a violent death in 1889. His consort, the enlightened Empress Elizabeth, was assassinated by an Italian anarchist in 1898, and his nephew and heir to the throne, Archduke Francis Ferdinand became the victim of a Servo-Russian plot and was likewise assassinated by young fanatics on June 28, 1914. Everybody will sympathize with Francis Joseph, the imperial sufferer whose personal misfortunes have brought him still nearer to the hearts of all his subjects.



## WHO KILLS THE GERMANS?

By Dr. Edmund von Mach

**T**HERE are, according to Secretary Redfield, "at least 15,000 concerns in the United States operating plants which, either in their present state or with a slight change of equipment, would be capable of producing arms, ammunition, or artillery." And new factories are being built under such "favorable" conditions that the profits on the contracts pay for the buildings.

The official figures of the exportation of cartridges, firearms and material for the manufacture of munitions of war during September, October and November, 1914, compared with those of the previous year are so appalling that no American can shirk the personal responsibility of deciding whether he wishes this traffic to continue.

The figures are:	1914	1913
Cartridges (3 months).....	\$3,105,957	\$635,535
Firearms (3 months).....	1,886,656	575,283
<hr/>		
Together .....	\$4,992,613	\$1,210,818
	1914	1913
Lead (pounds) .....	31,837,623	56,069
Copper (pounds) .....	79,440,917	25,752,207
<hr/>		

Together .....	111,278,540	25,808,276
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When it is realized that these figures do not include dynamite and similar explosives used for "industrial" purposes, and that the Secretary of Commerce reported to the Senate of the United States on December 18, 1914, that he was unable to inform the Senate "as to what extent contracts with American concerns are now being executed for the manufacture and exportation of arms, ammunition and artillery," because "a large proportion of the concerns interviewed would decline to supply the information referred to, and . . . there is no statute under which they could be compelled to do so"; and when it is further realized that the *Journal of Commerce* has stated that up to November 1, 1914, contracts to more than \$300,000,000 worth of ammunition had been placed in America, one understands as never before the terrible truth that it is America who is killing the Germans.

What possible good can come to a country from such a nefarious traffic?

What will become of these many gun factories after the war? Will they be dismantled, or is it not more likely that the interests vested in them will use part of their profits in a nation-wide propaganda to induce the nation to buy annually their artificially stimulated output in preparation for some imaginary war?

Now is the time to put a stop to this traffic, and it can be done! Not even all the resources of the more than \$1,000,000,000 capital invested in these factories can stand in the way of the will of the American people. This is not a question of pro-Allies or pro-Teutons, it is a question of conscience. The fact that at present Germany would be the gainer, if America followed the dictates of her conscience, cannot excuse us from being

accessories of a murderous traffic. Another turn of the wheel of fate may bring Germany to the French coast, while an aerial bombardment by the Allies may conceivably destroy the German gun factories. In such a case Germany would wish to buy arms of us. It is, therefore, by no means certain that both sets of belligerents would wish to have America "a wide-open country" before the war is over.

Nobody probably has so completely "anticipated" every honest objection to an American embargo on arms as Congressman Henry Vollmer, who sent the following concise message to the neutrality mass meeting in Symphony Hall, Boston, on January 31, last:

"George Washington defined neutrality as being friendly and impartial to all the belligerents. By permitting the export of arms and ammunition when we have the right and power to stop it we are helping part of our dear friends to kill others of our dear friends! Since only one side can get our supplies we are neither friendly nor impartial to all. Those who favor the embargo do not ask you to help Germany and Austria. They merely ask you to remain neutral and not help the other fellows. Since our war supplies go to feed the flames of war and in fact tend to prolong it, our prayers for peace become national hypocrisy.

"We have enacted a number of embargoes from 1794 to 1912, and Secretary Bryan is the first American official to say that we cannot legally do so or that it would be an unneutral act. Great Britain cannot complain for she herself is compelling neutral nations in Europe to enforce similar embargoes.

"If you fear that it would haunt us as a precedent if we got into war and were short of arms and wanted to import them, then we should conserve our supplies and stop exporting them to be used against our traditional friends, and possibly some time some of them be used against us. If enacted the principle underlying the embargo will become in time a part of general international law, and being a deterrent of war will be the greatest practical progress ever made by the peace propaganda."

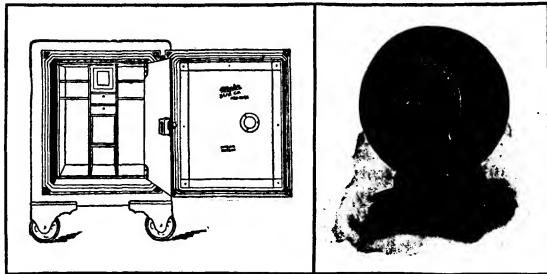
If the bill laying an embargo on the exportation of arms is favorably reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations, it will undoubtedly be passed by Congress. Now, therefore, is the time to urge the committee to take favorable action. Silence will be construed as indifference or opposition to the bill.

There is not a man living now who is proud of having been a defender of slavery. And likewise the time will come, if the nefarious traffic in arms continues, and the octopus of gun manufacture is permitted to fasten itself on this country, when no man will forgive himself for having failed to do his part in stopping this traffic ere it was too late.



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## IN BEHALF OF 2,000,000 AMERICANS

A N open letter of Dr. C. J. Hexamer, President of the National German-American Alliance, to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, February 3, 1915.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:

I am informed that the hearing which was to have taken place to-day has been indefinitely postponed. I therefore beg leave to submit the following letter for your consideration.

I represent the National German-American Alliance, composed of 2,000,000 of American citizens. The National German-American Alliance was incorporated, after a most searching inquiry in regard to its aims and purposes, by the Congress of the United States. Many of its members are natives of the United States, the ancestors of many settled in America generations ago, and a few of them are the descendants of the first German colonists who settled in Germantown, now the 22nd ward of Philadelphia, in 1683. We plead the cause of the United States. Our pro-British press has dinned into our ears so much about the "War-Lord" that many of us have entirely forgotten that there is also a "Sea-Lord." In my humble opinion, what is badly needed at the present time is a pro-American press published in the language of our country. Some of us forget that the "War-Lord" is fairly well occupied 3,000 miles from our shores, and that he of all foreign potentates has always been the sincerest friend of the American people. On the other hand, the doings of the "Sea-Lord" at the present moment concerns us vitally, for he is at our very shores, overhauling the ships that leave our ports, and he owns the most important coaling stations of our continent. He controls not only, through Canada, our northern boundary, but through his other possessions and his navy the Panama Canal. This "Sea-Lord," by means of a navy as strong as the combined navies of any two other nations, lords over the seas and all the waterways of the world. Through the fortress of Gibraltar, the possession of Malta, and the Suez Canal he has made the Mediterranean an English lake; and, through his other possessions and his navy, controls the trade routes and the commerce of the world. He dictates to neutral nations how and with whom they shall trade, breaking any agreement, such as that of London, when it suits his pleasure or convenience. He declares everything contraband which may be of any use to his enemies. He will not allow neutral nations to carry on legitimate trade; he will not allow a neutral nation to import the necessities of life and articles of a neutral commerce unless the neutral nation agrees not to re-sell. He

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will not allow a neutral nation to carry on its legitimate business, that is, to re-sell the goods it has purchased or to trade as a free and sovereign nation in the goods manufactured from the imported raw materials. The entire neutral world is now groaning under the oppression of the "Sea-Lord"! In the past he has crushed the commerce and navy of every nation, that has dared to outstrip him in trade: Spain, Holland, France, Denmark, and the United States. The greatest economic fight in the world's history is now going on in his attempt to crush Germany and to take away her commerce.

How can we, the people of the United States, secure our economic freedom? How can the American people secure the right of a free and sovereign nation which involves the right to do business as is best for us, and to carry on trade with neutral nations as we see fit? To my mind this could be solved without a serious conflict, and now, if ever, is the time to do it. For the "Sea-Lord" who is bullying all the neutral nations of the world, must be fed. He is incapable of feeding himself. And if a statesman of the caliber of a Washington, a Jefferson, a John Quincy Adams, a Lincoln, a Seward, a Fish, a James G. Blaine, an Olney, or a Cleveland, should arise and say to the neutral nations, let us agree on a programme, and tell the "Sea-Lord," kindly but emphatically, that unless he allows us to carry on our legitimate business, unmolested on the seas, as unmolested as we may on land, and that unless the obsolete practices remaining from the days of piracy are done away with by an international agreement, the neutral nations will refuse to feed the "Sea-Lord." The consequence would be that he would either have to starve or else quickly come to reasonable and just terms. That for which all the nations of the world, except England, have been struggling, for a hundred years, would be accomplished without a further struggle, for no one approaches the "Sea-Lord" in diplomacy or the art of giving in gracefully. The world no longer should tolerate a bully among the nations, but should restrain him as we do such individuals in well-regulated communities.

But these are matters for future consideration. What concerns us now is to stop the further shipments of arms, ammunition, and other war supplies, which prolong the horrible war, under which also the neutral nations are suffering intensely. Especially, we as a people, suffer; for our only means of communication with the great nations of the world is by the sea, from which we are at present debarred. In consequence, our manufacturers, our merchants, and all the working classes, are suffering through the paralysis of trade and the concomitant business depression.

Our Secretary of State has recently gone to considerable trouble to show in a lengthy letter that we are not committing a breach

## What Our Circulation Statement Shows

### Advertising Talk—No. 6

When looking over THE FATHERLAND's new circulation statement, just issued, no wide-awake advertiser can fail to be impressed with the importance of this weekly as an advertising medium of exceptional value.

First of interest is how this circulation was secured. As is well known, many magazines largely gain circulation by clubbing offers and premiums. On the other hand, some publications, like THE FATHERLAND, have nothing to do with these methods, and seek circulation through advertising, circular work, and local sales agents, solely.

From the standpoint of the advertiser, this is regarded as the highest class of circulation, showing that such subscribers read advertising, and are susceptible to it.

Not only is our circulation of the best, but our statement reveals that it is spread all over the United States. Thus we come within the worth-while scope of National advertisers.

While we are particularly strong in the Eastern and Middle Western States, we also have a good following in some of the Southern and far Western States, such as California and Colorado.

Our circulation high spots are in the great states of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri.

In the Southern States, we have an extensive subscription list in Louisiana, Georgia, Kentucky, and Texas.

Among national advertisers, a magazine which has a large rural circulation is considered particularly desirable.

About thirty-one per cent. of our circulation is rural, that is, in towns of 10,000 or under. At least fifty per cent. of this rural circulation is subscription. Previous to the starting of THE FATHERLAND, no paper, printed in English, and appealing to German-Americans, had ever reached this class of rural readers.

Now for a final score. Our circulation statement was issued just six months after the first issue of THE FATHERLAND, and in this short space of time, represents a grand total of 73,056 bought copies per week.

Nothing better illustrates the rapidity of our growth, and the great appeal of our weekly.

We would be glad to mail a copy of our circulation statement to any advertiser, who would like to study it in detail. It's worth it. Meanwhile, don't forget to send us that ad you have been contemplating. Do it to-day.

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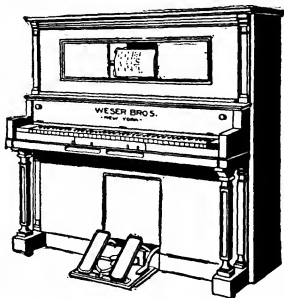
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of neutrality in allowing the exportation of arms and ammunition to one of the combatants, who is able to prevent his enemies from receiving like benefits. This is technically correct, but, do we not know that some of the greatest crimes in history have been perpetrated under the cover of technicalities? Because a thing is legal it does not necessarily follow that it is right or morally justified. Honest men do not act according to legal technicalities, but according to the dictates of their consciences and according to the laws of righteousness and true justice. An act may be technically right in the eyes of an obsolete law, but it may still be a foul crime against modern humanitarianism, against fair play and against justice. Our national and state legislators, for example, have been kept busy of late years to devise laws to reach and punish as criminals those who were until then, from the legal technical standpoint, experts of high finance, and, technically considered, were operating within the law.

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"Every cartridge shipped may mean a new orphan; every machine-gun, a dozen new widows, a score of additional bereaved homes; every howitzer, the destruction of another dozen towns; every aeroplane or armored gun-car, the loss of another hundred youths or men in their prime—killed and destroyed indirectly by us, who profess ourselves neutrals.

"The statement is frequently made that it is in the power of the United States to end this horrible world-war within ninety days, by ceasing our shipments of war materials to nations at war. If that statement be true—and there seems to be good ground for believing it to be true—then will our sin be all the greater for having allowed, in the baseness of our greed, the carnage to continue uninterrupted, and misery and suffering to drag on their weary length, when the exercise of true neutrality, true brotherliness and unselfishness, might have restored peace among the nations, might have brought back good will among men."

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THE great Bavarian painter fell  
Maimed in a Belgian lane;  
His blue eyes in a wondrous spell,  
Saw neither quick nor slain.  
Visions of masterpieces new  
Down the red sunset streamed—  
A hag with stealthy dagger slew  
Those eyes and all they dreamed.  
*But Vengeance took his eyes and set  
Another score to England's debt.*

This Saxon singer's silver voice,  
A miracle of sound,  
Had made the world's sad heart rejoice  
Wherever song was found.  
Sleeping he lay with rifle clasped,  
Bare shone his full white throat—  
The Ghurka struck, the singer gasped  
In blood one thin, shrill note.  
*But Vengeance took his song and set  
Another score to England's debt.*

King of the tube and microscope,  
His vast discoveries  
Gave unto man a golden hope  
And chained the world's disease.  
A bestial Cossack's single thrust  
Pierced the great Prussian's side,  
And a new savior's life was dust—  
In him ten thousand died.  
*But Vengeance took his life and set  
Another score to England's debt.*

This Suabian with a brain of fire  
Had lighted countless brains;  
Had taught young spirits to aspire  
In Jena's storied fanes.  
Fierce on the field the seer fought—  
A negro black as night,  
Grinned as his dripping sabre wrought  
Its end—and slew the light.  
*But Vengeance took that mind and set  
Another score to England's debt.*

The Rhineland with its amber wine  
Lent magic to his strings,  
He drew from them a voice divine  
That gave man's vision wings.  
But when the troubling of the drums  
Called him, he strove and bled—  
A hireling soldier from the slums  
Of London struck him dead.  
*But Vengeance took his bow and set  
Another score to England's debt.*

And England's doom that lay in wait  
Grew blacker in the Book of Fate,  
Now to their anvils bend the gods,  
Forging 'gainst her their fiery rods—  
She whose red emblem of the strife  
Remains the Ghurka's kukri knife—  
She from whose grey lips came the cry:  
"Guardian of Liberty am I—  
"Civilization's queen"—who wears  
A chain of white men's heads and ears!

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## CROWN PRINCE OF GERMANY INTERVIEWED

**"Preparation Was Our Duty," Declares Heir to Kaiser's  
Throne—Holds England Responsible**

By KARL H. VON WIEGAND

*United Press Staff Correspondent*

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HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF CROWN PRINCE IN FRANCE  
(*by courier via Namur, Aix-la-Chapelle and The Hague to London,*  
*by cable to New York*), Nov. 20.—"Undoubtedly this is the  
most stupid, senseless and unnecessary war of modern times.  
It is a war not wanted by Germany, I can assure you, but it  
was forced on us, and the fact that we were so effectually pre-  
pared to defend ourselves is now being used as an argument to  
convince the world that we desired conflict."

In these words Frederick William, Crown Prince of Germany  
and heir to the throne of the Kaiser, opened the first interview  
he has ever given to a foreign newspaper man, and the first direct  
statement made to the press by any member of the German  
royal family since the outbreak of the war.

I arrived at the headquarters of the Fifth German army in  
an automobile, shortly before midnight. At daybreak, I received  
a call from Major Edler von der Planitz, personal aide de camp  
to the Crown Prince, who stated that his Imperial Highness  
wanted to welcome me, but that he was leaving for the firing  
line and would see me a little later in the day.

When, some time later, the Crown Prince returned, I was  
presented. He greeted me cordially and without any of the  
stiffness or cool reserve that might have been expected.

"I am very pleased to see you here," he said, "and I hope  
that you will find plenty to interest you. I want you to feel at  
liberty to go wherever you like."

"I hope your Imperial Highness will pardon my Americanized  
German," I said, in stating to him some of the points in which  
I thought American readers would be chiefly interested.

"Then let us talk English, if you feel that we can better thus express ourselves," was his quick reply. Acting on the suggestion the Crown Prince of Germany proceeded to give his first interview in English.

#### An Uncalled-for War

"I am a soldier, and therefore cannot discuss politics," said the Crown Prince, "but it seems to me that this whole business, all of this action that you see around here, is senseless, unnecessary and uncalled for. But Germany was left no choice in the matter. From the lowest to the highest we all know that we are fighting for our existence. I know that soldiers of the other nations probably say, and a great many of them probably think, the same thing. This does not alter the fact, however, that we are actually fighting for our national life.

"Since we knew that the present war was to be forced on us it became our highest duty to anticipate the struggle by every necessary and possible preparation for the defense of the Fatherland, against the iron ring which our enemies have for years been carefully and steadily welding about us.

"The fact that we foresaw and, as far as possible, forestalled the attempt to crush us within this ring, and the fact that we were prepared to defend ourselves is now being used as an argument in an attempt to convince the world that we not only wanted this conflict, but that we are responsible for it.

#### Germans Are a Unit

"No power on earth will ever be able to convince our people that this war was not engineered solely and wholly with a view to crushing the German people, their Government, their institutions and all that they hold dear. As a result, you will find the German people are one grand unit imbued with a magnificent spirit of self-sacrifice."

The scene of our conversation was the drawing-room of a small French villa, located a few miles directly back of the German fighting-lines and used by the Crown Prince as a headquarters for himself and staff. The Crown Prince entered, accompanied by Major von der Planitz, who, after presenting me, withdrew.

The young commander of the German forces was dressed simply in the gray-green khaki of his troops, in a uniform devoid

of any decorations save a very small insignia of his rank of lieutenant-general and his recently-acquired black and white ribbon of the Order of the Iron Cross. He carried no sword, but toyed with a short swagger stick similar to those carried by English cavalry officers.

#### Holds England Responsible

Our conversation had been in progress but a short time when it became clear to me that the Crown Prince, like 99 per cent of the Germans I have met on the firing line and off of it, holds England responsible for the present war.

The thing that impressed me most, however, was the fact that despite the intensity of his convictions he displayed none of the intense hatred or the bitterness toward the English which I have observed so constantly among people of all walks of life since the outbreak of the war. On the contrary, there was a note of regret and almost one of sadness as he discussed this phase of the great issue.

I quickly gained the impression that the Crown Prince is by no means the man he has been pictured in England and America.

There is nothing of the fire-eater nor uncompromising warrior about him. He gave no evidence of gaining pleasure from his military experience or of delighting in conflict. It was obvious that the carnage he has already witnessed has made a deep imprint on his naturally impressionistic mind, and he referred frequently to the losses and the suffering, not only of his own but of the enemy's forces.

He was exceedingly generous at all times in his praise of the enemy as he had come in contact with them. If he was ever possessed of a reckless, dare-devil, carefree personality the last traces of it have apparently been removed by his work of the past few months.

#### Surprised by America's Attitude

Early in the conversation his Imperial Highness assumed the rôle of the interviewer and made evident his deep interest in the sentiment of America and Americans and his lack of understanding of the general attitude of our country toward Germany's position. Like a great majority of all Germans, he is unable exactly to understand why there is not more sympathy in the United States for Germany.



"There is no use or no purpose to be served by our closing our eyes," he said, "to the fact that a very large part of the world is against us.

"But it surprises me that America, to which we are bound by ties of friendship and blood as to no other neutral country; America, where millions of our people have gone and carried the German tongue and German ideas of liberty and freedom, should be so totally unable to put itself in our place.

"I would not be frank unless I admitted that it has been a surprise to me that Americans have not seen more clearly up to this time the position of Germany, entirely surrounded by jealous enemies, fighting for her existence; that they have not had a better understanding which would necessarily mean a higher appreciation of the unexampled sacrifices and heroism of our people, making this gigantic struggle with no other objective than the saving of the Fatherland."

He attributed the attitude of America almost wholly to England's control of the press and the world's channels of communication. He frankly admitted that in the past Germany has failed to appreciate the important rôle played by the press in world politics and in international affairs. He made it clear that Germany has learned a lesson in this respect, and learned it at the price of being branded in the eyes of the neutral nations as a military menace to the world's peace.

#### Expects Sentiment to Change

"I have faith in the sense of justice of the American people," said his Highness, "once we can get to them the actual facts and the actual truths back of this conflict. I know that up to this time it has been impossible for them to thoroughly understand our situation, but I believe that when the truth is known to them the fair-mindedness and the love of fair play, which has always characterized the acts of your countrymen, will result in a revulsion of sentiment in our favor.

"I had many friends in America. I believe I still have some there. I also have many friends in England—or rather had," said the Prince, with a rueful smile and a shake of his head. Then, turning abruptly and looking me squarely in the eye, he said:

"I want you to tell me exactly what is said about me in America."

I hesitated a moment, trying to figure just how much frankness was compatible with discretion in discussing personalities with the Crown Prince of the German Empire. Apparently reading my thoughts, his Highness laughed good-naturedly, and prompted:

"I like frankness and can stand the truth. Go ahead. I really want to know."

"Well," I replied, "the fact is that your Imperial Highness has been very generally represented, or misrepresented, as one of the *Kriegshetzer*, a war agitator, leader of the war party, and exponent extraordinary of militarism."

#### Do They Believe I'm a Thief?

"Yes, I know," said the Crown Prince, nodding his head in assent and giving no evidence of surprise, "and the English press says all that and much more. The English papers have stated that I am a thief and that I have personally robbed and pillaged these French houses in which we have been forced to make our headquarters. Really—and I want you to tell me frankly—is it possible that intelligent people in America or even in England can honestly believe such things of me? Can it be possible that they believe me capable of stealing pictures or art treasures, or permitting the looting of French homes?"

I reminded him that in war times sane judgment often went by the boards.

"I know, but it is simply incredible that people could believe what the English papers have printed about me personally and about our side of the war. Let's see, how many times have I committed suicide or been wounded?"

I admitted that I had lost count.

"I am supposed recently to have been badly defeated on the Russian frontier," chuckled his Highness. "But this whole business would be much more amusing," he added in a more sober tone, "if I did not know that as a result of it the public in neutral countries is being misled. As to my being a war agitator, I am truly sorry that people do not know me better."

#### "No War Party in Germany"

"There is no war party in Germany now and there never has been. I cannot help believing that it will very soon dawn upon the world that so far as Germany is concerned this conflict

is not a war waged by some mythical party, but is a fight backed by the unity and solidarity of the German Empire. This unity is the best answer to the charge with which England is endeavoring to terrify the world—that the war is being pushed by an ambitious military clique.”

The young soldier laughed heartily when I told him that the Russian press bureau had recently reported that their troops nearly captured the Kaiser during a recent engagement near Warsaw.

“I must tell father about that. I am sure it will be news to him and that he will enjoy it,” he said.

#### **Praises French Troops**

Switching to the subject of the enemy, the Crown Prince said:

“The French soldiers are surpassed by none for their bravery. They have fought splendidly. Individually, the French soldier is equal in every respect to our own intelligence, and in some things is quicker and more agile. But he is a defensive fighter and lacks the dogged determination and staying power of our troops when it comes to offensive work. Events have shown that French leadership has been excellent, and it has commanded our admiration.”

After a half hour's interview we were interrupted by an officer who reported to the Crown Prince that his staff was mounted and waiting outside. First inviting me to have dinner with him that evening, his Highness excused himself, and, mounting his horse, galloped away to the scene of the day's fighting.

During dinner he returned to the subject of America and his desire to visit our country.

#### **Had Planned Trip Here**

“I had all arrangements made for a visit two years ago,” he said, “but political objections prevented my trip. I had determined on a visit this year and had planned a hunting trip with Ambassador Gerard, but the war has, of course, spoiled that. Some time, however, I intend to make the trip. I am especially interested in your big industrial centers like Pittsburgh and Chicago, and in your beautiful cities like Detroit, San Francisco and Portland.

"I am most anxious to see one of your baseball games and one of your baseball crowds. You know I have been greatly interested in sports and in furthering them with consideration to the physical training of our young men. Personally, it has been a big disappointment to me that the war has made impossible the scheduled Olympic games at Berlin."

A glance at the reading table in the Crown Prince's room nailed the generally repeated story that he reads only what is clipped for him. I saw on his table leading American, English, French and Italian papers, with several numbers of *Puck* and *Life*. I asked him what he thought of American humor, and he replied that *Life* was one of his favorite magazines because of its clever political satire, its wisdom and its faculty for puncturing conceit. The conversation developed that I have an acquaintance with Jack London.

#### He Likes Jack London

"London is one of my favorite American authors," he said, "and I would like very much to meet him. I think that his portrayal of nature and the breath of the outdoors, together with his forcefulness, give his writings great power."

I reminded him that London was a Socialist.

"That would not make me want any less to know what kind of a man writes such books," was the quick reply.

Our conversation drifted along freely, skipping about from war to literature, to sports and to human nature generally. It was impossible, however, for me to get from his Highness for quotation any statement of a political nature. Our general talk, however, served to convince me that if this young man, who will in all probability one day rule the German Empire, was ever the hot-headed and boisterous youth he has been painted, the war has turned him into a sober, earnest, thoughtful man, with a deep sense of his responsibility. Despite his boyish appearance (he does not look his 32 years) the Crown Prince is the most modern and up-to-date thinker I have met in German officialdom.

#### A Natural Human Being

The keynote of his make-up is his simplicity, lack of affectation and the faculty he has of impressing you with the idea that he is just a natural human being, a man among men, with a quiet dignity, no poses and a hearty and freely-expressed dislike

of pomp. There seems little doubt that his reputation for breaking precedents and disregarding traditions, especially if they have a tendency to hamper progress, is well earned. He is no diplomat, knows and admits it. He gives the impression of knowing his own limitations, but has a straightforward manner and an inclination to say just what he thinks, which makes him both trouble and friends. He has an unusual trait of being able to hear the unpleasant truth with good grace. His greatest antipathy is to flatterers.

From my conversation with him I gathered that the Crown Prince is strongly opposed to bureaucracy and everything standing between the people and their ruler. It developed from my conversations with members of his staff that it is almost impossible to get him to sign the death sentence of a convicted spy or franc-tireur.

Recently when the French stormed the German trenches in the Argonne and were hurled back at one point with an unusually heavy loss, the Crown Prince offered the French a truce in order that they might gather up their wounded, who strewed the ground before the German trenches. When I asked the Crown Prince about the incident, he replied:

"Yes, there were several hundred dead and wounded in front of our trenches. I simply could not stand it, thinking of those brave fellows badly wounded, and lying there, many of them dying within a few yards of our doctors and nurses, while others were trying to drag themselves inch by inch toward our or their own trenches. I almost had a row about it with my Chief of Staff, who opposed me in the matter, saying the French would only report that we had asked for a truce because we were defeated. But I insisted on a white flag bearer being sent to the French trenches with an offer to give them time to get their wounded or allow us to get them. They refused, and, as a result, hundreds of those wounded fellows who might have been saved perished miserably. Some of them lived three or four days without food, water or medical attention. The whole thing seemed to me an instance of senseless and useless cruelty."

As a matter of fact I learned from other officers that the Chief of Staff was right in his judgment. The French did report that the Germans had asked for a truce.

I found among the officers of his staff, mostly all young men

like himself, the Crown Prince is an idol. From elder officers, I learned that the young man has demonstrated an unusual capacity for strategic problems, and the prediction is made that the war will serve to place him in the list of Germany's greatest generals.



## WHAT IS GERMAN "CULTURE" ?

Editorial from the "North American," Philadelphia,  
Saturday, November 28

In counting up the adverse influences which have beset Germany in her relations toward the world, most of us consider only the armaments allied against her and the moral opposition aroused against certain of her acts and policies. Yet there is another thing, a seeming trifle, which has had a potent effect in causing misunderstanding of German thought and purpose, and misunderstanding is the parent of injustice and enmity.

This handicap lies in the difficulty of expressing German ideas with exactitude in other languages, and particularly in English. Next to a democratic form of government and a somewhat higher conception of international morality, Germany's most urgent need, we should say, is a competent interpretation. An expert translator with sufficient authority to command attention and sufficient familiarity with both languages to render into idiomatic English the phraseology of her public affairs and utterances would be a priceless treasure to the Empire.

The possibilities of confusion that lurk in hasty, ill-considered translations from one tongue to another are really stupendous. There are thoughts and ideas quite elementary to one people which members of another race cannot mentally visualize with even approximate accuracy.

For example, the Japanese who speaks of his "honorable grandmother" expresses a pious veneration which reaches back into the dim regions of antiquity and passes the borderland of religious sanctity. Yet a fictitious Japanese schoolboy of current American humor makes the phrase "Hon. grandmother" irresistibly comic.

To give another instance from the same nation, a Japanese convert to Christianity rendered into his tongue the solemn words "Rock of Ages, cleft for me." His intent was the most pious in the world, but his hearers among his own people were profoundly puzzled by reading the Japanese equivalent of "Very old stone, split for my benefit."

That Germany has suffered seriously by the perversity of transplanted words is not to be doubted. While she was at peace with all the world, no great damage to her standing was apparent. But no sooner had she become involved in war than her foes and her critics made joyous use of distorted translations which had long been current.

The Kaiser, as the most noted and most picturesque spokesman of the nation, has naturally been the chief victim in this regard. His exalted mysticism and his profound conviction of his high mission in the world have exaggerated the widespread misconception of some of his most familiar utterances. Phrases that to his own people ring true and are filled with kingly nobility have been so marred in being carried into other tongues that they have sped round the world amid irreverent laughter.

"Supreme war lord"—thus, as everybody knows, his Imperial Majesty is sometimes addressed, and thus he is wont to name himself in his stirring exhortations to his troops. It is a mouth-filling term, worthy of the military magnificence and worshipful pomp that supposedly envelop the Kaiser, and has become so embedded in popular thought that it would be hopeless to endeavor to pry it out.

Yet the fact is that the phrase as it has reached us is wholly misleading. Wilhelm II. never was hailed and never described himself as "supreme war lord" of the German people. The title he uses, with perfect right and propriety, is "Oberkriegsherr," and its real meaning is pretty well rendered by "commander-in-chief," a title which the President of the United States bears in his capacity as head of the army and navy without arousing fears of imperialistic designs.

Since the beginning of hostilities, the Emperor's words have been more closely scrutinized than ever by his foes. A perfect fusillade of criticism was leveled at him a few weeks ago by persons whose religious sensibilities had been shocked by a sentence in an address to a regiment.

"We shall yet destroy our enemies," ran the report of the imperial speech. "Our old God up there will give us the victory."

This was really too much. A belief in the divine right of kings is bad enough, but it is intolerable that the delusion should be carried so far that a man, however exalted, should invoke the Creator with such arrogant familiarity. The reference to "our

old God up there" seemed in wretched taste, and that the German people did not resent it proved, of course, their pagan depravity.

*Unfortunately for the value of this criticism, however, the Kaiser's words had no such meaning as was attributed to them.* His religious faith is one of the passions of his life, and his pious veneration for sacred things a habit founded upon deep conviction. What he really said was, "Our ancient God on high will give us the victory," and, whatever may be the thought of his theory, the most bitter opponent cannot justly complain of his phraseology.

But these examples of error in regard to German ideas are trifling compared to a misconception which is even more baseless. If we were asked to name the one thing most hurtful to the German cause we should hesitate whether to cite the violation of Belgium's neutrality, the sack of Louvain or the phrase "German culture."

Certainly the first two have created a vast volume of unfavorable judgment, but the third has had an inflammatory effect upon the public mind that is quite deadly. And all through a misunderstanding.

The prominence of German "Kultur" in the controversy is due to its persistent emphasis by all spokesmen for that side. The Kaiser exhorts his troops to defend the Fatherland and "Kultur." It was Teutonic "Kultur" that was in peril from Russian barbarism, necessitating an invasion of Belgium. The imperial Chancellor used it in his oration to the Reichstag, and it appears in all the manifestoes of statesmen, diplomats, soldiers, journalists, university professors and other advocates for the Empire.

German "Kultur," we have been instructed, is the very soul of Teutonic civilization, the uplifting force in Europe, the one thing needful to regenerate the world. Beside it, the "Kultur" of any other nation whatsoever is a pitiable counterfeit. It sanctified the ambitions of Pan-Germanism and justified every device used to spread its beneficent influence.

Now, to most non-Germans, this apparent claim to the possession of an exclusive "culture" was at first merely amusing. Students of the glories of genius in art, music, literature and science, which are the heritage of the Latin and Celtic and

Anglo-Saxon peoples, found the solemn assumption of Teutonic superiority quite exhilarating.

But in time the word became an irritation. The air of bland finality with which it was uttered by German sympathizers seemed almost offensive, and by common consent their own weapon was turned against them.

"Confound your 'culture'!" said the exasperated world. "Some of us had scholarship and polish and spiritual enlightenment when you were barbarians, and we have works of genius which tower above your best productions like mountain peaks above a plain. Moreover, we do not observe in your social habits, your politics or your international relations any impressive signs of a special refinement which we might profitably adopt."

Hence it became a habit among Germany's critics to fling her "culture" in her teeth. The most inexpert controversialist could make a telling point by inquiring whether the repudiation of treaties and the burning of cities were evidences of German "culture" in operation.

Yet all this is lamentably unjust. Germany has not arrogated to herself the possession of the highest "culture." Her "Kultur" is something quite apart from the popular meaning given to the term used to express it in English.

Culture, in the narrow sense in which most of us use it implies, development of the mind, refinement of the sensibilities, enlargement of the spiritual vision, encouragement of lofty aspirations. "Kultur," on the contrary, is intensely practical and materialistic. It is an all-embracing term for advanced civilization.

When the German speaks of "Kultur" he means not only scholarship and artistic genius, but all the developments in governmental, social and economic betterment.

He includes expert and honest municipal rule, scientific efficiency in industry, education and military training, high standards of service in public utilities, conservation of natural resources, effective measures of public sanitation, an aggressive commercial policy, the amelioration of poverty and the elimination of uneconomic living conditions, old-age pensions, industrial insurance and a thousand other results of German thoroughness in dealing with the problems of existence.

*"Kultur" means not only achievements in the arts and sciences,*

*but in everyday progress. It embraces not only poems and symphonies, but dirigible airships, sanitary tenements and scientific sewage disposal. It covers the whole range of German civilization.*

IT IS FOR THIS THAT THE GERMAN PEOPLE ARE FIGHTING. Rightly or wrongly, they are possessed with the idea that other nations have plotted to destroy it, and they have proved themselves ready for any sacrifice to preserve it.

Humanity may properly deplore and resent the theory that this "Kultur," magnificent as it is, justifies the ignoring of treaties as "scraps of paper" and efforts to impose it upon free nations by force of arms. But it must be conceded that the cause is not so trifling as generally supposed.

How much Germany has suffered from the worldwide misconception of her favorite word, it would be impossible to estimate. But our judgment is that she might profitably exchange her whole fleet of armored *Zeppelins* for a plan that would blot out the fatally misunderstood word "culture" from her propaganda and from the memory of mankind.

## HAS THE UNITED STATES GUARANTEED THE NEUTRALITY OF BELGIUM?

(*New York Sun*, Nov. 23, 1914.)

Judge George Chandler Holt, formerly of the United States District Court for this district, has raised again in the *Independent* the strange question whether our Government, as a signer of the Treaty of The Hague, is therefore a responsible guarantor of the neutrality of Belgium. Let us be careful to state this remarkable proposition in Judge Holt's own words:

"But the gravest infringement of the Hague Convention which has taken place in this war is the violation of the neutrality of Belgium. The neutrality of Belgium was originally specifically guaranteed by a treaty between the principal Powers now at war, but to which the United States was not a party. *But it is also guaranteed* by the following general provisions of the Hague Convention, *to which the United States is a party*:

"The territory of neutral Powers is inviolable.

"Belligerents are forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies across territory of a neutral Power.

"The fact of a neutral Power resisting, even by force, attempts to violate its neutrality cannot be regarded as a hostile act."

We do not see exactly what this estimable jurist and juriconsult is driving at. Apparently all that he desires is that the United States Government, as a signer of the Convention of The Hague, should register without further delay a formal and physically innocuous protest against Germany's violation of Belgian territory and the other alleged infringements of the general compact concerning the rights of neutrality.

### Judge Holt Wrong

But if Judge Holt were right in his view of this nation's obligations under the Treaty of The Hague, something more than futile accusations and ineffective protests would be our immediate duty. If the United States Government by solemn contract with the other Powers had made itself responsible for the maintenance of Belgium's neutrality it would be our plain duty to participate in the physical business of driving the invader from Belgian soil, of punishing him for his unlawful aggression,



of collecting from him by force of arms the penalty of his offense and the solatium justly due to the innocent people he has injured.

In other words, if Judge Holt were right, it would become our duty to make war on Germany for precisely the same reason which Great Britain has declared as her cause of war.

There can be no doubt of this. Contract responsibility for Belgium's neutrality once being admitted on our part, there is no middle course between the cowardly repudiation of treaty obligations and the full performance, no matter at what cost, of that duty which Judge Holt says we have undertaken as one of the responsible underwriters of Belgium's neutrality.

*But it happens that Judge Holt is not right in his view of this nation's obligation under the several conventions of The Hague.* Every one of these successive conventions was signed by the American delegates and ratified by the Senate of the United States under reservation of the declaration originally presented to the conference on July 25, 1899, and reiterated in almost identical words in the plenary session of the Conference of October 16, 1907, as follows:

"Nothing contained in this Convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with or entangling itself in the political questions or policy or internal administration of any foreign State; nor shall anything contained in the said Convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

There are two sides of the Monroe Doctrine, and both sides are here stated in qualification or modification of any responsibilities we undertook at either of the Peace Conferences at The Hague. The first reservation amply covers the question which Judge Holt raises.

That intelligent jurist will be quick to perceive the distinction between our undertaking to observe on our part the international rules laid down in the several treaties of The Hague and our undertaking to enforce the same rules in the case of European nations. He will be quick to see that in view of the broad reservation just quoted we cannot, by any stretch of imagination or parchment or paper, be regarded as a responsible guarantor of the neutrality of Belgium.

## CHAOS IN THE RULES OF WAR

(*New York Sun*, Nov. 25, 1914.)

There is current just now much loose talk about the responsibility of the United States, as a signatory of the various conventions adopted at The Hague in 1907, for the application and enforcement of the rules as to war on land, the rules as to war on sea, and the rules as to the rights and duties of neutrals which were enacted at that memorable Conference of forty-four Powers.

Of the general sleaziness of thought and imperfection of knowledge concerning the status of these codes of war and neutrality we are having every day amazing illustrations by the dozen. Yesterday, *The Sun* commented on the proposition of Judge Holt, in the *Independent*, that the neutrality of Belgium, in addition to special treaties, was guaranteed by one of the conventions adopted at The Hague and that the United States Government was a party to that guarantee, with consequent responsibility and duty in the present situation. Now comes the Rev. George W. Douglas, the senior canon of St. John the Divine, with remarks which exemplify with sufficient inaccuracy the widespread misunderstanding on the subject. For that reason they afford a convenient text, and we accordingly use them as such. Canon Douglas is thus reported by the *Tribune*:

"The United States was a party to The Hague Convention at which certain articles were signed by all the great Powers. As a party to such a contract, it is the duty of the United States to live up to the terms of the agreement, and to insist that other nations do the same. It was expressly stated that no armies should be moved across neutral territory, and that floating or unanchored mines should not be sown in the open sea.

"For the United States to proclaim neutrality is right and proper. But neutrality does not mean that we shall see the terms of such articles violated without protest. Therefore, it is our duty when the terms of The Hague Convention are disregarded to remonstrate and hold up to censure the offending party or parties. Any other course will brand us as cowards."

### The Exact Truth Stated

*It is about time that the exact truth should be stated about these rules of war and neutrality, supposed by almost everybody to be in force in the existing contest, and likewise supposed by some people to devolve upon this nation responsibility for their assertion; at least to the extent of vigorous protest.*

The rules now generally believed to be binding upon the belligerents in Europe were embodied in the series of fifteen treaties or conventions signed by the representatives of the forty-four Powers at the second international Peace Conference at The Hague seven years ago; these instruments being revisions and extensions of the original treaties signed at the first Peace Conference in 1899. Some of the more flagrantly disregarded of these provisions we extracted from the several conventions and printed on this page yesterday under the heading "Scraps of Paper?" It may have been observed by those interested that to this exhibit we appended a note saying that many of the propositions were not ratified by "all" the Powers now belligerent, and that there was a question as to their force in the present war.

It is somewhat of a coincidence that there also came yesterday from Washington the news that our State Department has reached the conclusion that the so-called Declaration of London is no longer to be regarded as valid for the regulation of the proceedings of belligerents in naval warfare.

*The broad fact is that none of the codes formulated at The Hague in 1907 for the mitigation of the horrors of war, for the preservation of the rights of private property, for the safeguarding of non-combatants, for the protection of neutral individuals and communities, can be regarded as legally valid or in force under the present circumstances.* This means that the charge of perfidy or violation of a deliberately undertaken agreement drops out of sight in all such cases as where one or another of the belligerents has overrun neutral territory, or bombarded unfortified towns, or pillaged defenseless villages, or dropped bombs without warning on unarmed places, or exacted enormous blackmail from helpless cities. These are all removed from the category of violations of treaty faith.

### No Treaties Violated

*They may still be deplored on general grounds of humanity and public policy, they may be rebuked as contrary to that vague*

thing known as "international law," *but they can no longer be denounced as the deliberate repudiation of engagements undertaken by solemn contract in treaty form recorded at The Hague.* This is true whether the offenses in question have been committed by Germans, by British, by Austrians, by Russians, or by French.

The practical and legal exemption of the fighting Powers from the operation of the rules of war enacted at The Hague may be illustrated by the one case already referred to, namely: the treaty prohibition of entrance upon neutral territory:

"The territory of neutral Powers is inviolable.

"Belligerents are forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies across the territory of a neutral Power.

"The fact of a neutral Power resisting, even by force, attempts to violate its neutrality cannot be regarded as a hostile act."

- These particular "rules of war" are contained in the fifth Convention of the series of fifteen signed by the forty-four Powers at The Hague in 1907. It is entitled "Convention Respecting the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers and Persons in War on Land." Under other circumstances the foregoing prohibitions might be operative; but Article XX of this Convention says:

"The provisions of the present Convention do not apply except between Contracting Powers, and then only if *all* the belligerents are parties to the Convention."

Now, although all the present belligerents may have signed this Convention, in the persons of their respective representatives at The Hague, only those Governments which subsequently ratified the Convention became parties to its engagements. *In this case, Convention V was ratified only by Germany, the United States of America, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Mexico, the Netherlands, Russia, Sweden, Bolivia, and Salvador. It was not ratified by England or France. When France, therefore, became a belligerent, the German Government, by the very terms of this particular compact and contract, was released from its obligation not to violate neutral territory, not to move troops or convoys of munitions or supplies across neutral territory, not to regard as a hostile act resistance on the part of the violated neutral.* We are speaking, of course, of Germany's violations of neutrality only so far as they relate to

obligations contracted at The Hague; not to other treaty obstacles to freedom of war action.

#### About Bombs and Explosives

In the same way, the treaty prohibition of the bombardment of undefended towns, of looting, of outrages on the non-combatant population, of the levy of excessive penalties on captured cities, of the destruction of historic monuments, and so on, is contained in the various articles of Convention IV, "Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land." The second article of that Convention is as follows:

"The provisions contained in the Regulations [annexed to the Convention], as well as in the present Convention, do not apply except as between Contracting Powers, and then only if *all* the belligerents are parties to the Convention."

This Convention was ratified by Germany, the United States, Austria, Great Britain, and Russia, *but not by France*. So far as it was a binding contract its requirements were suspended when France entered the fight.

What we have said of the fifth and fourth Conventions is equally true of these others in the series:

"VIII. *Relating to the laying of automatic submarine contact mines. Ratified by Germany, Austria, and Russia, but not by Great Britain and France.*

"IX. Concerning bombardment by naval forces in time of war. Ratified by Germany, Austria, Great Britain, Russia, but not by France.

"X. For the adaptation of the principles of the Geneva Convention to maritime warfare. Ratified by Germany, Austria, and Russia, but not by Great Britain and France.

"XI. Relating to the right of capture in naval war. Ratified by Germany, Austria, and Great Britain, but not by Russia and France.

"XIII. Concerning the rights and duties of neutral Powers in case of maritime war. Ratified by Germany, Austria, and Russia, but not by Great Britain and France.

"XIV. *Prohibiting the discharge of projectiles and explosives from balloons. Ratified by Great Britain, but not by France, Russia, Germany, and Austria.*"

In each of these Conventions, covering as they do almost the entire range of questions of mooted propriety of conduct during



war, there is an article identical with or similar to that which is printed above, nullifying the entire Convention unless *all* the contestants are parties to the same.

Thus the entire fabric of prohibition, restriction, regulation in the interest of humanity and more civilized methods of warfare, is thrown into chaos, so far as the conventions of The Hague are concerned, by this pervasive article obliterating the contract obligations in all cases where any *one* of the belligerents happens not to be a contracting party.

In the present war, therefore, the ambitious attempt at codification becomes a mere scrap of paper, legally invalid and void.

*And what becomes of the persistent idea that the United States Government, as a party to these several Conventions, is in duty bound to intervene by act or protest to enforce regulations which have been made inoperative by the provisions of the treaty itself?*

## NO RULES OF WAR

Remarks on the Discovery that Practically All of The Hague Conventions  
Are Suspended by the Failure of Some of the Present Belligerents  
to Ratify

(*New York Sun*, November 27, 1914)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: Permit me to thank you for the article on the "Chaos in the Rules of War." *The Sun* may live in a small building, but it has a big head for getting at the facts. *The Sun* surely shines for all. My first impression of the war was that Germany was responsible for starting it, and that she had acted the part of a desperate highway robber, violating every treaty and every law of civilized warfare. This impression was, of course, created by means of the news certified to us by way of London.

Your article of to-day puts Germany in the right, in so far as the Conventions of The Hague of 1907 are concerned; and it is rather astonishing to find that while Germany ratified five out of the six articles named by you, Great Britain refused to ratify three of the six.

If we assume that England was as well informed as you are regarding these articles, and it is inconceivable that Sir Edward Grey was not, then what must we think of the attitude of England, trying to make the people of the United States believe that Germany violated Belgium's neutrality, and that she entered this war for the purpose of protecting Belgian neutrality, which, by the way, she has not done, and which we are forced to believe she must have known she could not do?

I feel sure many others will thank you for your splendid article of to-day, for I know the American people, of whom I am one, are desirous of giving a square deal to all the belligerents.

GEORGE H. GUDEBROD.

HARTFORD, CONN., November 25, 1914.

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### Perhaps Canon Douglas Does Not Quite Get the Point

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: Inasmuch as in your editorial article of November 25 you have done me the honor of referring to a newspaper report of a recent address of mine, it is proper that I should correct an inaccuracy in that report.

The reporter failed to catch the important preamble to the passage of my speech which he took down. My preamble was:

*If the articles of The Hague Convention are not a negligible scrap of paper*, then each of the contracting parties has a serious responsibility.

Then followed my remarks, which in substance are correctly given.

If I understand it, the contention of your editorial article is that, although some of the ablest jurists and diplomats of our generation endeavored to draft a document which would be of permanent service to the world in international warfare, nevertheless they failed, at least so far as this war is concerned, to make it binding.

I have seen many statements of the case pro and con., but none that I can remember puts your view of it as clearly as your editorial article does.

I have not seen Judge Holt's article, to which you also refer, and from what you say of it I gather that he does not agree with you. But even if your contention is altogether correct, may we not hope that the efforts of the next Hague Conference will be more effective after the awful lessons which the world is learning now?

GEORGE WILLIAM DOUGLAS,

*Member of the World's Alliance for the Promotion of  
International Friendship.*

NEW YORK, November 25, 1914.

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The present suspension of nearly all the rules of war, so far as the Conventions of the second Conference at The Hague are concerned, is accomplished not by neglecting but by strictly regarding the terms of that compact. In each case specified some one or more of the Powers now belligerent failed to ratify, and, therefore, as the Conventions provide, the rules become inoperative. For the United States Government to undertake to protest, as Canon Douglas urges, against the non-observance of rules voided by the treaty itself, would be to protest against the treaty itself. Canon Douglas can hardly persist in maintaining that to refrain from so doing is a course that will "brand us as cowards." As for Judge Holt's view of our treaty obligations, and as for the circumstance that it does not agree with *The Sun's* view, we are quite content to let the Judge take care of the discrepancy in his own way. But we certainly share Canon Doug-

las's hope that the efforts of the next Peace Conference may be more effective.

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#### The Extent of This Nation's Responsibility for Protest or Enforcement

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: Permit me, as an old and appreciative reader of *The Sun*, a few remarks bearing upon the editorial article in *The Sun* of yesterday headed "Has the United States Guaranteed the Neutrality of Belgium?"

It would appear from this article that Judge Holt is of the opinion that as one of the signatories to the treaty of The Hague forbidding the violation of neutral territory by belligerents, America is for that reason bound to enter at least a formal protest against Germany's invasion of Belgium.

Commenting on this view, you seem to take the ground that for the reservation under which the American delegates signed and the United States Senate ratified this as well as other Conventions of The Hague it would be incumbent on the United States Government not only to protest against the invasion but to join hands with other signatory Powers in their efforts to expel the invader from Belgian soil. You also declare that "If Judge Holt were right it would become our duty to make war on Germany for precisely the same reason which Great Britain has declared."

As a matter of fact, the provision of The Hague Convention quoted by Judge Holt amounts to no more than the formal expression and adoption of a principle of international law regarded as well established for a century or longer by American as well as other publicists. But it has never been held, so far as I know, that a violation of the principle imposes upon neutral nations accepting it the duty of also enforcing it. Neither does the provision of The Hague Convention under consideration do so; and had America subscribed to it without any reservation whatever it would not be obliged to take up the cudgels for Belgium.

In its insistence, as disclosed by the White Paper, that Germany keep out of Belgium, Great Britain did not rely on the principle mentioned, but upon the contract she entered into in 1831 with certain European Powers, including Prussia—the German Empire was then non-existent—guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium, a newly formed and weak State. Indeed, she could not consistently have invoked this rule or principle, since in passing through Portuguese territory she had disregarded it in order to get at the Boers; and perhaps she foresaw also that

her Asiatic ally might find it convenient if not necessary to violate the territory of China for the seizure of the district Germany held under lease from that country, a task Great Britain had imposed, or intended to impose, upon the said ally.

It may not be amiss to point out here, though outside of this discussion, that Great Britain's declaration of war on Germany was not altogether motivated by her desire to keep Belgian soil inviolate, for, as again shown by the White Paper, she declined to commit herself when asked by Germany whether she herself would remain neutral in the war on condition that Germany regarded Belgium's neutrality.

It would seem then that if Judge Holt's view were correct, even as limited by *The Sun*, heavy responsibilities would be added to those Uncle Sam has already incurred by the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine. Any attempt to carry such a view into effect would be an attempt to beat down wickedness all over the world, a manifestly impossible undertaking.

A CONSTANT READER OF THE SUN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 25, 1914.

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If the eminent and respected gentleman who here modestly presents himself as "Constant Reader" will look again at the editorial article which in one particular he criticises, he will find that the extent of responsibility on the part of the United States was only conditionally discussed by *The Sun*. We said, "*If the United States, by solemn compact with the other Powers, had made itself responsible for the maintenance of Belgium's neutrality, etc.*" The supposition is no longer worth discussing, except academically. As our esteemed "Constant Reader" will have seen since he wrote his letter, all question as to the extent of this nation's duty of interference or protest, either with or without the Monroe Doctrine reservation, is removed by the broad fact that so far as the compact of The Hague is concerned there has been no breach of treaty faith by Germany. Convention V, "Respecting the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers and Persons in War on Land," expressly provides that its prohibitions shall not apply "except between Contracting Powers, and then only if *all* the belligerents are parties to the Convention." It is a somewhat noteworthy fact that in this instance the prohibitions fall because England and France failed to ratify, although Germany, Austria, and Russia did ratify.



**Nobody to Fight; Nobody to Protest Against**

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: After reading your leading editorial article to-day, based on Judge Holt's remarks as to the attitude which the United States should take because of the violation by a belligerent of the territory of a neutral, it has occurred to me that there is one considerable difficulty which neither you nor Judge Holt mentioned.

Against whom should the United States protest or fight? Against Japan and England for their violation of the unquestioned neutrality of China, or against England for her alleged violation of Switzerland by her airships and of neutral waters by her cruisers, or against Germany for her invasion of Belgium, or against all three?

Would it not be rather difficult, as well as practically ineffective, for the United States to fight against nations actually engaged in fighting each other? If the idea should be to fight one side until it should be beaten and then turn and fight the other side, why should we commence with Germany rather than with England and Japan? Their disregard of China's neutrality was without the excuse of the belief of necessity, and was directed against a country which has not even been accused of secretly intriguing with their enemies.

The fact that the Belgians have suffered terribly, while the Chinese have not, may have been due to errors of judgment by the Belgians themselves, and in any event does not affect the moral issues or the rights and duties of the United States.

HENRY BENNETT LEARY.

NEW YORK, November 24, 1914.

As already stated, the general suspension of responsibility to observe the rules of war embodied in the several Conventions adopted at The Hague, and rendered inoperative in the present conflict by the failure of one or the other of the present belligerents to ratify, makes it idle to discuss the extent to which this Government ought to go in another case where the compact was operative.

**Not Germany's Fault That the Conventions Are Inoperative**

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: Will somebody please tell me why England, which is fighting for the protection of neutral Belgium, did not ratify The Hague Convention V, "the territory of neutral Powers is inviolable," etc., and why the German "Huns" did sign it?

Will you please tell me why England, which is fighting for civilization, humanity, etc., did not ratify The Hague Conventions VIII, IX, X, XI and XIII, and why the German barbarians did?

Would it not have been human and civilized if England had then acted in these matters by deeds instead of hot air?

FREDERICK PETERS.

NEW YORK, November 25, 1914.

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We take it that Mr. Peters will be satisfied to have his questions printed, even if nobody attempts to answer them. It is only fair to say that of the eight principal conventions, to the present status of which *The Sun* has called attention, seven were ratified by Germany, and likewise by Austria. The eight conventions fail in the present war through the circumstance of non-ratification by France in all eight cases, by Great Britain in four cases, and by Russia in two cases. The one convention which Germany did not ratify is that relating to the discharge of projectiles and explosives from balloons. This failed of ratification by France and Russia, as well as by Germany and her ally Austria.

We acknowledge the receipt of a number of other interesting communications on this highly important and decidedly enlightening subject. These letters either closely parallel those printed above or, on account of their length, must await the opportunity of space and special attention.

## THE CONTRIBUTION LEVIED AGAINST BRUSSELS

*(From "German 'Atrocities' and International Law." By James G. McDonald, Assistant Professor of European History in Indiana University. Published by the Germanistic Society of Chicago.)*

Very important is the charge of illegally levying vast assessments against the city of Brussels and the province of Brabant. The amounts, \$40,000,000 and \$90,000,000, respectively, are named, but practically nothing has been given as to the exact terms of assessment or collection. The second assessment has been denied. The first has been admitted, though the exact amount, it is said, has not yet been fixed.

The international law of such "contributions" was defined in 1907 by The Hague Convention, regulating the "Laws and Customs of War on Land," as follows:

Article 49. "If, besides the taxes referred to in the preceding article, the occupant levies other money contributions in the occupied territory, this can only be for military purposes or the administration of such territory."

Article 51. "No contribution shall be collected except under a written order and on the responsibility of the Commander in Chief. The levy shall only take place, as far as possible, in accordance with the rules in existence and the assessment in force for taxes. For every contribution a receipt shall be given to the payer."

These articles seek to limit the amount of "contributions" to what is needed within the territory actually occupied, either for military necessities or for administrative purposes. Contributions so limited are undoubtedly legal.

This war-right has been held "to be peculiarly unjust and wanting in that spirit of sympathetic concern for national feeling, which informs the modern usages of war so largely." It is true that "it seems cruel" to allow the Germans occupying Belgium to make Belgians contribute to the support of that army which is holding them in subjection. It is true that "contributions"

are "a relic of the vested rights which an invader once possessed to money, goods, and labor of the people he had temporarily conquered." But is war itself not a relic of barbarism?

In reality, "contributions," if not extortionate, and if levied in lieu of requisitions (demands for supplies, e.g., horses, cattle, etc.), and to supplement or substitute for the regular taxes, may be the most humane method of supporting a conquering army in an enemy country. A concrete case, cited by a German representative at the international conference at Brussels in 1874, will illustrate how "contributions" may be a valuable method of equalizing a heavy military burden: "An army arrives at a rich town, and demands a certain number of oxen for its subsistence. The town replies that it has none. The army would be compelled in that case to apply to villages, which are frequently poor, where it would seize what it is in want of. This would be a flagrant injustice. The poor would pay for the rich. There is, therefore, no other expedient but to admit an equivalent in cash. This is likewise the mode which the inhabitants prefer. Moreover, it cannot be admitted that a town which is unable to pay in kind shall be exempted from paying in money."

*The last edition of the British Field Service Regulations echoes this same defense, when it authorizes commanders to raise "contributions in order to distribute the burden of levying the supplies more evenly over the whole population,"* for otherwise it is only the inhabitants immediately or near the line of march who feel it. "By levying contribution," this article continues, "in large towns, which are principal administrative centers or districts, and, by expending the sums so obtained in the purchase of supplies in outlying districts, the latter may be made to bear their share as well."

"Contributions," then, are normally legal, as a measure of necessity to meet administrative or military needs within an occupied territory. If levied as a supplement to or as a substitute for other and sometimes more onerous means of support these money assessments are perfectly legal. One authority on international law has argued that these levies were illegal because, "according to The Hague rules, it is forbidden to penalize by pecuniary indemnity or personal punishment any general body of people for violation of the laws of war by a few. So that even if the Belgians had violated the rules of war, unless you can show

that the entire population of Brussels was, as a body, responsible, it is illegal to levy a heavy fine upon them."

*This is true. But the German military officers seem not to have levied a fine upon Brussels. Rather they seem to have imposed these levies, "in place of taxes," and "in place of requisitions in kind." Hence their system of "contributions" may prove to be highly commendable.*

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